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FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4792

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INFO RUQMGU/AMEMBASSY ANKARA 3671

RUMJPG/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 632

RUFKEB/AMEMBASSY BERLIN 29

RUSBGD/AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD 9036

RUQMR/AMEMBASSY JIDDA 346

RUDTC/AMEMBASSY LONDON 1092

RUEHMO/AMEMBASSY MOSCOW 1755

RUSBAE/AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI 7094

RUFNPS/AMEMBASSY PARIS 3165

RUQHR/AMEMBASSY TEHRAN 336

RUHQKQA/CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

BT

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 5493

CINCPAC: ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 12065: GDS 7-21-85 (TAYLOR, JAMES E.) OR-P

TAGS: PEPR, PINS, FINT, AF, UR

SUBJECT: (CLOU) TARAKI AND AMIN HINT PUBLICLY THAT THEY MAY BE
AWARE OF BEHIND-THE-SCENES MANEUVERING AGAINST THE REGIME

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT.)

2. SUMMARY: IN PUBLIC SPEECHES PUBLISHED OVER THE AFGHAN WEEKEND, TARAKI AND AMIN HINTED THEY MAY BE AWARE OF BEHIND-THE-SCENES MANEUVERING TO ALTER THE REGIME'S LEADERSHIP COMPOSITION, AND THAT THEY DO NOT INTEND TO PERMIT THE "BETRAYAL" OF THE REVOLUTION. AMIN, PARTICULARLY, REFLECTED DISAPPOINTMENT AT A POSSIBLE SOVIET ROLE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS. THE GENERAL IMPRESSION, PUBLICLY AT LEAST, IS THAT NEITHER LEADER MAY TIMIDLY AND WITHOUT RESISTANCE ACCEPT WHATEVER SCENARIO MAY BE DEvised BY OTHERS. END OF SUMMARY.

3. PRIME MINISTER HAFIZULLAH AMIN, IN A SPEECH PUBLISHED JULY 18, DROPPED SOME VEILED HINTS THAT HE MAY BE COGNIZANT OF POSSIBLE ONGOING EFFORTS TO ALTER THE MAKEUP OF THIS REGIME'S LEADERSHIP. ALLUDING TO THE CONCEPT OF A BROADENED GOVERNMENT, AMIN CLAIMED THAT THOSE CLASSES WHO HAD BEEN OVERTHROWN BY THE APRIL 1978 REVOLUTION HAD "NO RIGHT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLE" AND THAT "TO REINSTATE THE FEUDAL SYSTEM OR A PUPPET REGIME OF YE IMPERIALISTS (WOULD BE) HARMFUL TO THE REVOLUTION (AND) A BETRAYAL OF THE PEOPLE."

4. IN ADDRESSING RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AMIN ASSERTED "WE WILL ALWAYS BE FAITHFUL (TO) WHATEVER COUNTRY WE EXTEND THE HAND OF FRIENDSHIP, AND WITH WHICH WE MAKE A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP; THE FIRST CONDITION OF OUR FRIENDSHIP IS RESPECT FOR OUR HOMELAND, RESPECT FOR OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY AND RESPECT FOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND FREEDOM OF OUR BELOVED COUNTRY." AMIN ADDED POINTEDLY THAT "WE HAVE NOT MADE A TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH ANYBODY UNLESS HE HAS RESPECT FOR OUR SOIL, RESPECT FOR OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY RESPECT FOR OUR INDEPENDENCE, AND UNLESS HE SUPPORTS US HONESTLY IN THE SAFEGUARDING OF OUR INDEPENDENCE, IN KEEPING OUR SOIL AND OUR HOMELAND, AND IN KEEPING OUR NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT OUR FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION HAS DEVELOPED TO THE STAGE OF BROTHERHOOD," AMIN ADDED.

5. AT ANOTHER POINT, AMIN INSISTED THAT "OUR DESIRE IS THAT IF SOME ONE HAS THE SAME IDEOLOGY (AS OURS) AND THE SAME FEELINGS, HE SHOULD LET US FIGHT AGAINST THE ENEMIES OF THE COUNTRY, AND TO BUILD OUR COUNTRY."

6. IN A SPEECH PUBLISHED JULY 19, PRESIDENT TARAKI MADE A BRIEF COMMENT ALONG RELATED LINES WHEN HE INSISTED THAT "OUR PARTY AND STATE HAVE MANY OTHER PLANS FOR THE WELFARE AND PROSPERITY OF OUR PEOPLE," AND THAT "STOPPAGE OF OUR EFFORTS IS THE DEATH OF OUR REVOLUTION. WE DO NOT ACCEPT THIS DEATH AND WILL FORGE AHEAD."

7. COMMENT: IN THE CONTEXT OF PERSISTING REPORTS THAT BEHIND-THE-SCENES SOVIET MANEUVERING IS UNDERWAY TO BROADEN THE BASE OF THE DRA REGIME IN ORDER TO BUILD SOME SORT OF SAFETY-VALVE FOR THE GROWING OPPOSITION, THESE BRIEF HINTS BY THE COUNTRY'S TOP TANDEN REFLECT A STANCE THAT SHOWS NO INCLINATION TO GO ALONG WITH EITHER A SIGNIFICANT "STOPPAGE" IN THE REGIME'S FUTURE REFORM PROGRAMS, OR TO BEND TO SOVIET PRESSURE. IN THIS REGARD, THE TONE OF AMIN'S REMARKS ABOUT THE SOVIETS SUGGESTS A SENSE OF BETRAYAL, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF THE CRUCIAL SOVIET ROLE IN PRESERVING THE REGIME'S FUTURE.

8. THESE ARE THE FIRST PUBLIC INDICATIONS WE HAVE SEEN THAT THE TARAKI/AMIN TEAM MAY BE AWARE OF SECRET "NEGOTIATIONS" AND THAT THEY MAY NOT TIMIDLY ACQUIESCE TO WHATEVER SCENARIO MAY BE ON VARIOUS DRAWING BOARDS. ACTIVE RESISTANCE ON THE PART OF TARAKI AND AMIN (OR BOTH) AND THEIR SUPPORTERS, WOULD HAVE NOT ONLY POLITICAL BUT POTENTIALLY SERIOUS SECURITY RAMIFICATIONS A WELL.

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